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BCP'S YOTOV OPENS EAST BLOC JOURNALIST MEETING

AU051457 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 5 Jan 84

[Text] Sofia, January 5 (BTA) -- Today a meeting of the editors-in-chief of the central newspapers of the parties of the socialist countries began here.

Mr Yordan Yotov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and editor-in-chief of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, opened the meeting. He stressed that the ideological struggle waged on the international arena has assumed an unprecedented nature and this is a consequence of the new "crusade" of the forces of anticommunism which was declared by Mr Reagan. We are witnesses of acts, campaigns and provocations against the countries of the real socialism which have been unheard of until now. The methods of the ideological subversion, the chief tools of which is the bourgeois mass media are constantly improving, Mr Yotov said.

By dwelling on the topical tasks facing the journalists of the socialist countries, Mr Yordan Yotov said: "Once again I would like to underline the great significance of the results of the meeting of representatives of the publications of the communist, workers' and revolutionary democratic parties (Moscow, November 1983) for increasing the role of the propaganda of the Soviet peace programme, the resolute struggle of the fraternal socialist community for eliminating the nuclear threat looming over the planet".

There opened discussions on raising the level of the cooperation, of the contribution the party press makes to resolving the ideological tasks, on carrying out ever more intensive work for revealing the truth for the real socialism and its advantages, on opposing the ideological subversion of imperialism.

26th ANNIVERSARY OF CUBAN REVOLUTION MARKED

Leaders Greet Castro

AU041525 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Jan 84 pp 1, 7

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following message to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Council:

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro:

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the entire Bulgarian people, and on our own behalf we send you, the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, and the heroic Cuban people most cordial greetings on the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

The Cuban revolution, which triumphed under the banner of the ("26 July") movement and under your direct leadership, heralded the beginning of a new epoch in the revolutionary movement in Latin America, and entered the history of the international communist and workers' movement as a new stage along the road toward the revolutionary transformation of the planet.

For a quarter of a century your country, the first free territory in America, has passed a glorious and heroic road. In close cooperation with the countries of the socialist community, led by the USSR, it overcame the counterrevolution, imperialist intervention, economic blockade, and the constant blackmail, threats, and subversion of U.S. imperialism. Under the leadership of its glorious Communist Party the Cuban people raised high the banner of socialism, and achieved remarkable successes in the country's political, economic, and cultural development.

With its heroic deeds and historic successes socialist Cuba became an example for the Latin American peoples struggling for national independence and social liberation, and a symbol of the invincibility of the revolutionary ideas and ideals.

During the past 25 years, since the victory of the revolution with its devotion to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and with its principled and consistent antiimperialist and peace-loving policy, free Cuba attained a great and deserved prestige in international life and great authority in the Nonaligned Movement.

Under the conditions of the present complex and tense international situation, and at the present especially exacerbated and explosive situation in Central America and the Caribbean, Cuba is firmly and steadily opposing the constant blackmail and threats of U.S. imperialism, and is a reliable support and most consistent defender of peace in this sensitive region of the world.

The Bulgarian Communists and our entire working people rejoice from the bottom of their hearts at the achievements of the Cuban people in socialist construction. We note with great satisfaction that the fraternal friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are making a constant and comprehensive progress. We are confident that they will further develop and strengthen to the benefit of the two peoples and in the name of strengthening the socialist community in the name of world peace and security.

On the national holiday of the Republic of Cuba we wish you, dear Comrade Fidel Castro, and the entire working people of the island of freedom good health, happiness, and new great successes in implementing the decisions of the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, and in our common struggle for peace and socialism.

Please accept also our most sincere greetings and wishes for the happiness and prosperity of the Cuban people in the new year, 1984.

Anniversary Meeting Held

AU051928 Sofia BTA in English GMT 5 Jan 84

[Text] Sofia, January 5 (BTA) -- The 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution was marked by a solemn meeting, held here today.

"The victory of the revolution on the island of freedom is an event of historic significance", stressed in his speech Mr Ognyan Doynov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of the mechanical and electronic engineering.

He went on further by saying that with their selfless work, heroism and high international consciousness, under the guidance of the Communist Party, the Cuban people have turned into an example for many peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for national independence and social progress.

"Cuba gives her active contribution to strengthening the unity of the socialist community, to uniting the ranks of the international communist and workers' movement, of all progressive forces, of the non-aligned countries in the struggle for a permanent peace, international security and cooperation, Mr Ognyan Doynov said.

He stressed that the sense of international duty is deeply rooted in the Cuban people. The peoples of Angola, Ethiopia, Grenada and Nicaragua and of many other countries judge the fraternal, selfless and combat solidarity of Cuba on its merit in their just struggle for freedom and independence.

Mr Ognyan Doynov expressed indignation with the U.S. aggression against Grenada and her illegal occupation, with the undeclared war against Nicaragua and a number of other crimes on the [word indistinct] of the U.S. imperialism.

He stressed that Bulgaro-Cuban relations have reached an extraordinarily high level with Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Fidel Castro having a great contribution to this. Their meetings have set the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the development of Bulgaro-Cuban relations. They broadened the possibilities for the further development of the two countries' all-round cooperation. For two decades alone Bulgaria and Cuba's relations in all spheres had an all-round development and Bulgaro-Cuban friendship became a remarkable factor for and source of spiritual friendship and mutual enrichment.

"We regard Bulgaro-Cuban cooperation as the two peoples' contribution to the struggle for the further strengthening of the unity of the world socialist community, of the cohesion of the international communist and workers' movement, of the unity of action of all revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces", Mr Ognyan Doynov said. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 5 January adds: "Comrades Milko Balev, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Stanish Bonev, and Emil Khristov, as well as leaders of sociopolitical and mass organizations, public figures, and numerous citizens attended the meeting."]

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON FISCHER'S VISIT TO USSR

For Moscow IZVESTIYA reportage of the communique issued on GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer's visit to the USSR on January 3-4, see the Eastern Europe section of the 6 January 1984 Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages F 7-10.

HOFFMANN SPEAKS AT MILITARY ACADEMY CELEBRATION

LD051746 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1534 GMT 5 Jan 84

[Text] Dresden, 5 Jan (ADN) — In the Palace of Culture in Dresden today, there was a festive event to mark the 25th anniversary of the Friedrich Engels Military Academy. Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister of national defense, passed on to the members of the highest military teaching and research institute in the GDR cordial greetings and congratulations from SED General Secretary Erich Honecker, chairman of the State Council and of the National Defense Council of the GDR.

Speaking on the growing responsibility of the socialist forces in securing peace, Minister Hoffmann described the highly efficient use of science and technology as one of the vital preconditions for solving the problems of the modern military system. It is testimony to the quality of teaching, to scientific work, that today officers from the USSR, Poland, the CSSR, and Vietnam are studying at the Friedrich Engels Military Academy.

In a declaration of intent to Erich Honecker, the members of the academy stated that in 1984 they would reliably carry out the task entrusted to them.

Also present were generals and officers of the Soviet Army; delegations of the fraternal armies from the USSR, Poland, and the CSSR; and military and defense attaches accredited in the GDR.

AGRICULTURE MINISTER GIVES PRODUCTION STATISTICS

DW051401 [Editorial Report] East Berlin Domestic Service in German at 1600 GMT on 4 January carries a 40-minute live or recorded "Listeners' Forum" program in which Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs Bruno Lietz responds to listeners' questions on agricultural matters and plan fulfillment. In responding to several questions from listeners, the minister says that agricultural and animal production will be increased in 1984, stressing that "10.5 million tons of grain must be produced." With regard to other target figures, Lietz says that "2.4 million tons of slaughter cattle must be produced, some 6.7 million tons of milk containing 4 percent of fat, and 4.8 billion eggs." He goes on to say that thus 6,000 tons of slaughter cattle must be made available every day, more than 19.4 million kg of raw milk and more than 1518 million eggs. "Some 4,000 tons of vegetables must also be made available daily," Lietz adds.

The minister says that in the first days of this year production target figures have been fulfilled and overfulfilled, and that "some 593 tons of slaughter cattle have been supplied beyond the plan's target figure, as well as 2,130 tons of milk, and 612,000 eggs."

In responding to a question of the supply of animal fodder, Lietz says that in order to manage without imports "we would have to gain 50 quintals per hectare." Commenting on the winter vegetable supply, the minister states that "we have 335,000 tons of vegetables in stock now for the first months of the winter." In 1983 the production of "fresh vegetables from January to March amounted to almost 19,000 tons," he says.

On the subject of irrigation, Lietz says that "the 1984 plan envisages the new construction or reconstruction of irrigation systems for 156,400 hectares," stressing that 60 percent of the GDR agricultural area must be irrigated, and that so far 900,000 hectares have been irrigated or drained.

With regard to the activities of homesteaders and domestic animal breeders in 1983, the minister states that they produced "more than 320,000 tons of fruits and vegetables, which is about 20 percent of the state's production; some 11,700 tons of tobacco, which is somewhat more than 25 percent of the state's production; and about 2 billion eggs, which is about 40 percent of the state's production," adding that "honey and rabbit meat is produced only by the small-size producers and through private activities of our cooperative farmers."

In answering a question about forestry, Lietz says that the GDR has a "wooded area of 2.9 million hectares that is being cultivated by 45,300 forestry workers," that about 12 million cubic meters of windfall accrued in the past years, and that 1 million must still be taken care of in 1984.

In conclusion the minister states that about 26,500 apprentices start working annually in GDR agriculture and that housing for about 350,000 cooperative farmers and workers has been improved from 1980-1983.

DELEGATION ARRIVES IN FRG FOR DKP CONGRESS

LD051146 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1121 GMT 5 Jan 84

[Text] Nuernberg, 5 Jan (ADN) -- At the invitation of the Executive Committee of the DKP, an SED Central Committee delegation headed by Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, arrived in Nuernberg on Thursday. It will attend the Seventh DKP Congress, which is to open on Friday. Other members of the delegation are Herbert Haeber, member of the Central Committee, and Gerhard Mueller, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk Executive Committee.

On their arrival the delegation was cordially welcomed by Allen Weber, member of the DKP Executive Committee Presidium, and by other members of the Executive Committee. The head of the GDR permanent mission in the FRG, Ambassador Ewald Moldt, also came to greet the delegation.

MARJAI BEGINS ECONOMIC TALKS IN HAVANA

LD051817 Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 5 Jan 84

[Text] Havana, January 5 (MTI) -- Hungarian-Cuban talks have started in Havana. Hungarian Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai arrived in Havana Thursday to take part in the 12th session of the Hungarian-Cuban Economic, Technical and Scientific Commission on the invitation of Jose Ramon Fernandez, deputy premier of Cuba.

The parties are to survey bilateral trade turnover, and the development of economic, technical and scientific cooperation since the 11th session, and set the directions of further development.

The commission is to examine possibilities of expanding mutual deliveries, and to pay special attention to the issues on the assembly of Ikarus buses in Cuba and the organization of public transport in the island country. The commission is to survey the results of bilateral cooperation in CMEA programmes, including the development of lemon production and processing, nickel and cobalt excavation, the rapid improvement of Cuba science and technology and the geological exploration of Cuba. The session is to assess preparations for the long-term coordination of national economic plans.

KOROM, DELEGATION DEPART FOR DKP CONGRESS IN FRG

LD051101 Budapest MTI in English 1035 GMT 5 Jan 84

[Text] Budapest, January 5 (MTI) -- A delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party headed by Mihaly Korom, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the CC, left for the Federal Republic of Germany Thursday to attend the 7th Congress of the German Communist Party in Nuremburg. The delegation includes Arpad Hargita, associate of the CC's Foreign Affairs Department.

DECISION ON ELECTRICITY EXPANSION COSTS EXPLAINED

LD052358 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 5 Jan 84

[Text] At its session today, the Council of Ministers took a stand in favor of continuing the new management forms and methods introduced in the services. The experiences of 2 years demonstrate that the reorganization of large service enterprises has lived up to expectations. The new, smaller enterprises adjust more flexibly to the demands of the market, their stake is stronger, and their transaction of affairs is simpler. Despite the fact that in past years a modern service industry had been created with substantial material expenditures, and the direction of the economy has significantly changed, large enterprises were unable to provide high-quality service, and they tried to increase their profits with frequent price increases. For precisely this reason, the Council of Ministers considers it necessary to create more small enterprises, to develop competition, and to continue organizational modernization.

The government has regulated by decree, the participation of the public in the development of the electricity network. Until now, a provision of law issued 17 years ago enabled private consumers to contribute partially or fully to the building of new electricity lines or to the expansion of the existing network. At the same time, it was a problem that consumers who later joined the line built by private means were not obliged to cover part of the costs of building the line. According to the new decree, henceforth every consumer is obliged to pay the part accruing to him, and councils are to devote this money to expansion of the network. For further details, listen now to Andras Fajer:

Until now it made no difference what kind of power was needed by the owner of each premise; he paid an identical amount at the time of construction. Henceforth, a person who wants more power will pay more, in proportion.

And now, perhaps the most important change: electricity network development contribution.

For those who are going to build, it is worth noting the complex and overly-specialist concept. They must pay this contribution if their consumption of electrical power is greater than 3.3 kilowatts. This 3.3 kilowatts is an average value, calculated theoretically, of the average requirement of an average household. It is enough for the operation of approximately one automatic washing machine, an electric stove, or a storage heater. A person who would like a network with greater power than this must pay an electricity network development contribution, an amount ranging from 2,000 to 6,000 forints per kilowatt. Naturally, this has to be paid only one occasion -- when the power is connected. And so that you should have a more precise idea of it, I shall say that it means more than 50,000 forints if, for example, there is heating in three places with an electrical heater. The councils, or respectively the electricity works everywhere, also will spend the money thus collected on development of the electricity networks.

[Presenter] Finally, the Council of Ministers instructed those competent to speed up the preparation of training of technicians in the educational system, because there is a lag in several areas.

ROLE OF RELIGION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY DISCUSSED

LD042135 Budapest in English to Europe 1150 GMT 4 Jan 84

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We continue this program with "reconciliation, Tolerance," a feature on how the role of the churches and that of the state are reconciled in a socialist society. We have received several letters from listeners with a broad range of related questions. And to answer those questions here I have in the Radio Budapest studio Istvan Kollar, student of religious affairs. Istvan, I would suggest to start with that basic question: Is there a freedom of belief in Hungary?

[Kollar] Well, the 7th chapter of the Constitution on fundamental rights of citizens has it that -- and here I quote -- the Hungarian People's Republic guarantees the liberty of conscience and the freedom of worship to all citizens. There are three major churches: the Catholic, the Protestant -- the Reformed and the Lutheran; a Jewish religious community; nine smaller denominations, including the Baptist and the Adventist, united within the Council of Free Churches; plus the Greek Orthodox churches. As for the number of temples, that is more difficult because I found data only for 1980. Then, there were 5,500 churches, chapels and preaching homes, as well as 130 synagogues in Hungary. Most of the temples and chapels, 3,520 exactly, belong to the Catholic Church. But since several new places of worship are built every year, that total number should be higher by now.

The Hungarian Jewish religious community has an estimated 80,000 members. I said an estimated, because the last census, also enquiring about one's religious affiliations, was held in Hungary in 1949, and since then the latest data are only the estimates of the respective churches. Six or 8 percent of those 80,000 Israelites take part in religious events. The affairs of the community are administered by the Jewish Board of Guardians. The community has a secondary school and a rabbi training college, a museum and an archives, a biweekly, as well as religious programs on the domestic radio waves; it publishes books, operates social welfare institutions, such as homes for the elderly, public catering and hospitals, and it also maintains extensive international relations.

There are four Greek Orthodox Churches in Hungary: Russian, Serbian, Romanian and Bulgarian -- all independent, but maintaining close contact with their respective mother church. Biggest of them is the Russian Orthodox Church, with about 5-7,000 members.

[Announcer] Are there any monasteries functioning in Hungary?

[Kollar] There is one at Pannonhalma. It is a major educational center and, incidentally, it is also the seat of the Benedictine Order in Hungary. There are four orders with 284 members. In addition to the Benedictine there is another named after St. Francis and a Piarist Order and the Our Lady Order of (?Poor Sisters). There is also a Buddhist mission belonging to an order in India, whose Hungarian branch has 16 members. And, as I understand, there are plans for setting up a special order of nuns engaged in charity activities and health care.

[Announcer] Now for the question that prompted the title of this feature; I quote here: I cannot reconcile the role of the churches in a socialist society. That is actually not a question; it is a statement, and it comes from (Michael Dett) of Peterborough, England. How do you state your case, Istvan?

[Kollar] Well, I presume Michael thinks churches should have disappeared in Hungary, now that they are no longer part of the establishment, or perhaps he believes that a socialist society should order the church to disappear. But that is not what socialism is about, although, admittedly, there have been socialists who (?misinterpreted) just what socialism is and thought they had a right, so to speak, to put the church in its place. But, as I stated earlier, our state does guarantee complete liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, as fundamental civic rights. Being religious puts no one into a disadvantageous position regarding social status and profession advance, with the single exception of party posts. Involvement in religious activities is no factor of consideration in individual promotion in any area. Now, the precondition for the protection of the liberty of conscience was created in Hungary when the church was separated from the state. Since then the state does not interfere in the lives and activities of the churches, and the churches do not interfere in state life and activity. Under a separate concordat between the state and the individual churches, that basic principle of coexistence is fully observed on both sides.

Now, to go back to that point of Michael about reconciling the fact that socialists and Christians can get along in a socialist society, I would like to make the point that churches everywhere in the world are becoming more and more active in social issues and more and more active in doing something about them. Just think, for example, in Britain about Father Bruce Kent, who is the general secretary of the CND campaign for nuclear disarmament; or think of the marvelous Catholic bishops of the United States, regarding their stand on nuclear peace, or their statement that some of the things like unemployment were unacceptable in capitalism. Now, in our society, in our socialist society, where the churches feel that they have the opportunity to work for worldwide peace, that they are a part of society, why should they not reconcile and why should not they work together with the state for ideals and objectives benefiting the whole of society?

Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, the primate of the Catholic Church, often uses the following example to state the case: There are not [word indistinct] religious beggars, begging bread for religious people, and atheist beggars begging bread for nonbelievers; there are Hungarian beggars begging bread for Hungarian people. Party First Secretary Janos Kadar made the same point in the following way: He said he was not interested in whether a worker at the weekend went to the pub or the football stadium, or to the church. The only thing, he said, he was interested in was that when a worker goes to the factory on Monday, the following weekday, he would do a decent job. And there are many ample opportunities for joint work for common goals, disregarding ideological differences, from the protection of family life to care for the elderly. Now that is how the churches have their own place in a socialist society.

JARUZELSKI, GLEMP MEET IN WARSAW 5 JAN

LD051905 Warsaw PAP in English 1721 GMT 5 Jan 84

[Text] Warsaw 5 Jan -- Poland's prime minister Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski met primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp here today.

While making an assessment of key developments of last year, the two voiced satisfaction over the course of the second visit to Poland by Pope Joh Paul II, the course which proved favourable for this country. The sides also discussed some vital issues pertaining to state-Church relations, and exchanged views on the situation in Poland in the context of international tensions at present.

The prime minister and the primate expressed concern over the escalation of armaments and were unanimous in that Poland as a country which so singularly suffered during the Second World War has special reasons to seek the preservation of world peace, to which further development of contacts between Polish state authorities and the Apostolic See can contribute.

WLADYSLAW JABLONSKI RELIEVED OF MINISTERIAL POST

LD052126 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 5 Dec 83

[Excerpts] The discussions of the PPR Sejm are the event of the day.

The seventh point on today's agenda is changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers. Sejm Deputy Marshal Zbigniew Gertych read the premier's letter on the resignation of Minister Wladyslaw Jablonski from the functions of minister and member of the Council of Ministers. The Sejm recalled Wladyslaw Jablonski from the post of minister [without portfolio].

In view of the late hour, two items of the agenda were eliminated: changes in the composition of the Socioeconomic Council and written and other questions of the deputies. Amendments to the composition of Sejm commissions ended today's discussions of the parliament, which lasted for almost 12 hours.

URBAN ON PRICE RISES, AGRICULTURAL FOUNDATION

LD051201 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 5 Jan 84

[By Bohdan Ambroziewicz and Olga Andrzejewska]

[Excerpts] Warsaw 4 Jan -- Government Press Spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban here today voiced indignation of the Polish Government and society of violating by the FRG legislation of the 1970 agreements with Poland.

The spokesman denied the opinions suggested by Western correspondents who alleged that food price rises in Poland were delayed. We did not set any precise date. We want to increase prices at the start of the current year but only when all the indispensable procedures are completed: that is consultations, also with trade unions, processing the results of consultations, modification of drafts, etc. The minister added that the outcome of the consultations will soon be announced. Preliminary data indicate that the majority of society are against jumping price rises. They believe that prices should evolve gradually.

Asked to give a general assessment of the moods of Polish society, Minister Urban said "There is moderate optimism that Poland will extricate itself from the economic and political crisis. Here some growth in optimism is perceived."

In reply to a question on establishing a foundation to aid agriculture at Church circles' initiative, the minister stressed that in view of the government draft law on foundations, which is now being examined by Church circles and which will soon be submitted to the Sejm, there are now bigger opportunities to carry out work on a concrete foundation of this kind.

'TRANSCRIPT' OF URBAN'S 13 DEC CONFERENCE

AU031451 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Dec 83 pp 4-5

["Transcript" of press conference given by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban to foreign journalists in INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 13 December]

[Excerpts] I want to apologize to the BBC -- I am addressing this to the BBC correspondent in Warsaw -- because during the 11 December press conference I said that the BBC had broadcast that persons traveling abroad, particularly scientists, are obliged to present views that concur with the Polish *raison d'etat* while abroad. I then said that this report had been dreamed up and that no pledges have to be signed regarding this, which does not mean, I then added, that publicly preventing views that concur with the *raison d'etat* of one's own state is not the moral duty of any citizen who goes abroad. In short, I denied that pledges have to be signed. I received a letter in connection with this from Professor Witold Karczewski. I know Mr Karczewski, he is a professor of medicine. He wrote to say that I had stated an untruth at the press conference and sent me a form with the headline "Departure Instructions," which contains the following clause: "Duties of citizens traveling abroad," with Subhead B that states: "It is a duty to correctly present the interests of Polish science and to act in accordance with the enforced legal acts and the *raison d'etat* of the PPR." It appears that the scientific workers of the Polish Academy of Sciences do indeed have to sign a departure instruction form containing such a paragraph when they travel abroad officially. These are, of course, instructions that contain various recommendations including advice to report to a diplomatic establishment, for example, and to carry out the aim of the visit, and so on. But they do include such a paragraph. It turned out that the information that I gave came from the Ministry of Higher Education, which also issues departure instructions for workers in higher education who are selected for official trips abroad and these instructions are even more extensive. But they do not include any mention of concurrence with the Polish *raison d'etat* because they are concerned with matters of a purely scientific and technical nature. These are two different institutions and without remembering that the Ministry of Higher Education is not the only institution that selects scientists for official trips abroad I wrongly voiced a grievance against the BBC for which I apologize.

Passing on to more important matters, which does not mean I think the aforementioned issue unimportant, only that it is less so than others.

President Reagan made a speech at the White House on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the United Nations Organization, and said that he will speak out against the persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland. I would like to express my great amazement at this part of the President's declaration. The Church in Poland is not persecuted, has considerable possibilities for development, and the authorities treat it as an important partner. The U.S. Administration is either badly informed about the situation in Poland or is deliberately passing over facts that do not agree with its crusade and confrontation policies.

Moreover, I do not think that the interests of the Catholic Church in Poland are the concern of a President who is conducting a policy that aggravates relations on the international scale, is carrying out preparations for a war, and is imposing economic sanctions against Poland. I would be surprised if such a declaration made by the President would appeal to anyone in Poland. This is all I have to say by way of introduction.

Henry Champ, NBC News: Minister, you spoke of the freedom with which the Church acts in Poland. The name of Father Popieluszko, who went to see the authorities yesterday morning and has not been heard of since, springs to mind in connection with this. What can you say about this?

Jerzy Urban: I think it is an unfortunate stylistic error to identify Father Popieluszko with the Church. But I will gladly clarify this. Father Popieluszko has been detained under arrest. I would ask you not to identify this with arrest because, as I have already explained many times, in Poland the prosecutor has 48 hours in which to decide if a person will be held under temporary arrest when he is detained and this requires that he be charged. This has not happened yet as the 48 hours have not elapsed, which means that we are talking about a detention and not an arrest.

The detention is the result of the following events. Father Popieluszko was asked to the prosecutor's office for interrogation because he was suspected of abusing the Church and his hierarchic function to carry out activities of an illegal political nature. The interrogation procedure at the prosecutor's office requires the production of a personal identity card in order to identify the person who is to testify. While Father Popieluszko's identity card was being examined it was noticed that he is not registered at the presbytery where it was presumed that he lived. It turned out that he had a different address on his identity card, and therefore, an additional apartment in town. It also turned out that he had the keys to this apartment on his person. The prosecutor, Father Popieluszko, Father Popieluszko's chauffeur whom he had chosen as a witness, and the functionaries of the Officer of Internal Affairs drove to this apartment. It was searched on the prosecutor's decision. A large number of objects were found stored there that seriously incriminate Father Popieluszko. That is all I can say about this at the moment.

Kevin Ruane, BBC: In yesterday's press, radio, and television transmissions there were quite a few reports on former Solidarity activists who were recently arrested. One could conclude from this that these arrests did not actually take place during the last few days. Could you supply more precise details as to exactly how many people were arrested and when these arrests took place?

Jerzy Urban: Yes, in just a minute. A group of a dozen or so workers of the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk were arrested for carrying out illegal activities by establishing a "secret plant commission" within the shipyard. Legal proceedings are underway in Bielsko-Biala against 25 suspected people including 18 persons who are under temporary arrest. They were creating the so-called "Independent Self-Governing Third Rank Solidarity Trade Union," which was a regional executive commission, and a secret organization. It was concerned with disseminating various publications that were signed by the "Third Rank." The contents of these publications were antistate, and the organization also transmitted the programs of the so-called Radio Solidarity on the radio. The workers of this group mainly came from the low-capacity car factory in Bielsko-Biala. Investigations are now underway in this matter. Four people from this structure came forward after these arrests were made to give themselves up under the amnesty.

In Katowice the members of an underground Solidarity structure called the International Coordinating Commission of the Slask-Dabrowski Region were detained in recent days. The main form of their activities centered on the printing and circulation of illegal publications, bulletins, and leaflets calling for various hostile outbursts. It was concerned with acquiring funds from the sale of goods from parcels from abroad that were sent as gifts for the needy. Aside from that it also made profits on the sale of illegal publications. A group of a dozen or so people were discovered in Wroclaw, some of whom came from the town's municipal transportation enterprises. It disseminated illegal publications and organized collections of money to fund underground activities. Another group of a dozen or so workers was also discovered in Wroclaw but this time they came from various plants in the town and were put under temporary arrest. In Gorzow Wielkopolski the members of a group of several workers from the town's plants were arrested. Among them was a woman who was a member of the former Solidarity plant committee in the Silvana plants, who was interned, then sentenced in 1982 for illegal activities after the abolition of internment and was freed in July under the Amnesty Law. In Walbrzych a dozen or so people who transmitted Radio Solidarity programs were arrested. Again, in Katowice three persons were arrested for preparing and disseminating illegal publications. In Warsaw, Kielce, and Bydgoszcz 13 people were detained for activities in the so-called All-Poland Workers' Resistance Committee; they included people in hiding since December 1981 who were using falsified documents. In Wroclaw the functionaries of the security services also discovered an illegal organization that was called the Independent Polish Youth Organization. Five people were detained, including high school pupils and first year higher education students. They had also been printing and disseminating illegal publications. In addition, investigations are being carried out in Wroclaw into the case of an illegal organization that called itself the Youth Resistance Units. A pupil from the technical training school at the automatic lathe factory was arrested for questioning about a large amount of leaflets, brochures, and illegal publications.

Charles Gans, Chicago SUN TIMES: I have two questions. Could you tell us how many people are currently under temporary arrest for political offenses or crimes? And how many people are now carrying out prison sentences for this kind of crime? My second question: I have recently noticed that the militia checks every car entering Warsaw to search their trunks for meat or even live pigs. Could you tell us what then happens to these requisitioned animals? Who are they sent to?

Jerzy Urban: I have reports that are dated 6 December, I am sorry, I mean 30 November, that is the last day of last month. In total, 218 people were sent to prison. I am, of course, only including those who committed or are suspected of having committed a crime for political motives. Some 41 of this number were sentenced before the declaration of the amnesty and their sentences have been commuted under the amnesty, but 31 of this number were not granted amnesty rights. Some 134 people were sentenced after the declaration of the amnesty. On top of this total of 218, there are also 11 people under temporary arrest to whom the amnesty regulations do not apply at all. So, in reply to your question as briefly and exactly as possible, until 30 November, that is, between 21 July and 30 November, 134 people were arrested in Poland on suspicion of carrying out activities based on political motives. The arrests that I mentioned in reply to the preceding question should be added to this number, but I do not know the overall number of people who have recently been arrested, and therefore since 30 November.

Oh, I am sorry. Your second question, what is happening to this meat? According to the reports that I used to receive on these matters, I think that there has been no change in procedures and the meat is directed to hospitals and day nurseries, in brief, to places where there are kitchens for the masses. I think that this continues to be so; in any case this meat is never wasted. These measures have been undertaken as part of the intensification of efforts to observe the law and simply concern the fight against the illegal trade in meat, which means the kind of trade that does not concur with the regulations that have been enforced regarding the sale of meat.

Lars Persson, EXPRESSEN: Last Saturday the charge d'affaires of the United States Embassy went to Gdansk to meet Lech Walesa and as a result of this Lech Walesa declared that the United States should lift its sanctions. Do you think this is some sort of step toward lifting the sanctions by the United States?

Jerzy Urban: This is more proof of the closely coordinated activities carried out between the U.S. authorities and Lech Walesa. However, it would be too early to say that it was a step made by the United States toward the lifting of sanctions. Our government's position on this was released by PAP. I have also explained that we demand the lifting of all U.S. sanctions. We are also interested in all realistic, as opposed to superficial, steps in this direction. And this is our assessment of the steps contained in the U.S. Government's declaration a while ago on fishing issues and its willingness to talk in the framework of the Paris Club, because they are a sham and insignificant.

Kevin Ruane: Minister, could you tell us if the government has familiarized itself with the contents of Lech Walesa's speech at the ceremony in Oslo, which was read out on his behalf, and if there has been any reaction from the government to his appeal for reconciliation?

Jerzy Urban: It is difficult for me to say that the government has familiarized itself with it. I think that many members of the government read the foreign press and are familiar with certain texts that appear in the foreign press, so they know the contents of his speech. I am sorry, what was the second part of your question?

Kevin Ruane: The reaction to the tone of reconciliation that comes through in the speech?

Jerzy Urban: I can say this in reply. First of all, President Reagan is not entitled to dictate whom we should choose as a partner for talks. This persistently occurs in U.S. policies, the tendency to designate who should be our partner in talks to resolve domestic issues in Poland. We, therefore, generally reject this kind of interference. With regard to Walesa and the tone of reconciliation that appears in Lech Walesa's recent speeches -- Walesa failed to take part in the accord that the government was inviting him to join. We warned him then that he would miss his chance and indeed he did. Today, national accord is and will be implemented without Lech Walesa and the political forces that are behind him and in league with him, as well as without the forces for whom he is a spokesman. This is because Walesa has not become a symbol of reconciliation and cooperation, but rather a symbol of the fight against socialism. The rally [zlot] which recently took place in Oslo was a rally that was composed of all kinds of immigrants -- the professional soldiers of President Reagan's anticommunist crusade. This rally clearly shows where Lech Walesa places himself today on the political map of the world.

Michael Castex, AFP: My question concerns the transmission that was not shown of the award ceremony at Oslo. The members of the government and yourself were more fortunate than the majority of Poles, who could not listen to this transmission on or through the Polish mass media and did this using foreign wavelengths and hostile radio stations, thus receiving a great deal of publicity in this way. Do you not think it would have been better if they had been given the opportunity of listening to this through the Polish mass media?

Jerzy Urban: Our mass media was not interested in transmitting or even partially relaying the clearly anticommunist spectacle that was organized in Oslo to award the Nobel Peace Prize to Mrs Danuta Walesa on account of the political significance of the entire spectacle, a meaning that I discussed when Lech Walesa was told he had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

1984 DRAFT BUDGET LAW SUBMITTED TO SEJM

AU041324 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Dec 83 p 5

["Summary" of report on 1984 draft budget legislation read to the 29 December session of the Sejm by Sejm Deputy Jan Kaminski]

[Text] Favorable development trends were in evidence in 1983, but in some fields the economic processes developed contrary to the assumptions of the National Socio-economic Plan. Industrial production will increase about 6.5 percent and national income will increase for the first time in 4 years. This increase will amount to 3.8 percent. Labor productivity will also increase to some extent. The results of plant production in farming have been favorable, but the production of animals, especially of hogs, has broken down.

Trade in goods with the socialist countries has distinctly increased. In 1983 our trade with the capitalist countries showed a positive balance of payments, which will make it possible to partially pay for the servicing of our foreign debts.

However, the planned scale of inflation was greatly exceeded in 1983. Present forecasts show that incomes will have increased about 23 percent. The planned increase in the price index will also have been increased. In addition, the structural changes in industrial production were not enough. The flow of consumer goods will not have increased in line with the planned index. It is estimated that this increase will be 4 percent in comparable prices. This is adversely affecting the flow of goods to the marketplace and the country's general economic situation. The time in which we want to achieve an equilibrium of goods and money will be longer still.

The state's fiscal situation was slightly improved in 1983, but budgetary incomes in excess of the plan were determined by increased levies accruing from income taxation, social insurance fees, the surplus of the State Vocational Activization Fund, and other means.

Such levies do not give rise to satisfaction because they originate with wages: The budgetary incomes in excess of the plan are a direct result of excessive wages.

The planned budgetary expenditures also continue to increase, albeit at a slower rate. This is so in the case of subsidies, for example, including the subsidies in response to the higher prices for farm produce that were introduced in July 1983. The present estimates indicate that the budgetary deficit planned for 1983 will be smaller because of higher budget incomes and moderate increases in budget expenditures. The expected economic and fiscal results of 1983 are the starting point for the central annual plan and the budget for 1984.

The development of economic and fiscal principles for 1984 went hand in hand with the development of essential changes in economic instruments. The legislation on changing some regulations of the economic reform has introduced a number of modifications in the procedures by which prices are fixed for goods and services and in the taxation system of the state enterprises, fiscal economy. These modifications are aimed at checking inflation, at more closely relating people's incomes to production increases and labor productivity, at curbing unjustified increases in costs and prices, and at creating better fiscal conditions for financing changes in the structure of industrial production.

On behalf of the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances and the Commission for Legislative Work I have the honor to submit to this honorable house a report on the deputies' debate on the draft legislation concerning the 1984 budget, the balance of payments, the loan plan, the balance of the incomes and expenditures of the population, and the principles of the finance-credit policy of the banks.

The 1984 draft budget is closely related to the central annual plan adopted by the Council of Ministers and reflects the present economic processes and their further development.

The principles of 1984 economic development do not give us hopes for greatly improving the state's fiscal situation. The expected increases in wages and prices and the size of investments are responsible for increased budget expenditures. The basic items of budget expenditures are determined by the decisions made in previous years with regard to the volume of social benefits and cultural and educational funds. This is responsible for the fact that budget expenditures will increase 22 percent or over Z587 billion in 1984.

Increased subsidies for the goods and services used by the population are also crucially responsible for the level of budget expenditure.

The increases in these subsidies include Z34 billion for food; about Z31 billion for non-food goods and services, mainly passenger transportation and coal and coke for heating; almost Z87 billion for coalmining in order to keep coal prices below extraction prices; and about Z66 billion for the housing and communal economy.

The expenditure on social and cultural purposes will increase over Z120 billion or 21 percent. This is because of increased wages and employment in education and health protection and because of the need to develop social facilities. This expenditure includes an increased subsidy for the Cultural Development Fund.

The expenditure on investments and capital repairs will increase about Z52 billion.

Because of such large budget expenditures it is necessary to administer them rationally. The efforts to save money should be made primarily with regard to subsidies. The system of subsidies should continue to be improved and the control over their allocation should be expanded and tightened. It is necessary for the individual Sejm Commissions to carefully analyze in the first half of 1984 the costs of the economic sectors supervised by them and the subsidies given to these sectors.

The 1984 draft budget provides for increasing the budget income by Z528 billion, that is, by 20 percent. This increase must flow mainly from socialized enterprises. It will be determined primarily by increased turnover taxation (Z123 billion) and increased income taxation (Z215 billion). The budget will also take over a part of amortization to increase its income. This takeover of various amounts of amortization from enterprises is dictated by the need to amass the necessary funds to pay for the necessary changes in the structure of economic development. Specific amounts of unappropriated incomes and expenditures are also planned for by the draft budget. These items concern mainly the expected changes in the wholesale and retail prices of some foods and the reformed principles of calculating income taxation.

The local budgets provide for long-term planning by and for strengthening the fiscal independence of people's councils. It is worth noticing that these budgets will be balanced, but that this balance will be ensured by the necessary fiscal support from the central budget.

The 1984 state budget presented to you has to a great extent been determined by the present situation of the flow of goods and money and by the lack of the necessary balance between the population's incomes and expenditures. That is why we have to share the view of the Socioeconomic Council that the trends toward positive changes in 1983 have still not been consolidated and that the present results are in many ways already late in relation to the assumptions of the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-85 approved by the Sejm. These delays are proof that the mechanisms to force the economy to become balanced and to develop are still not fully operative.

Increased subsidies for enterprises are a disturbing feature and are at odds with the promised policy to curb the flow of subsidies to economic units.

Increasing the flow of consumer goods is an important task in balancing the population's cash incomes and expenditures. This is a necessary measure in order to ensure that the positive features of the 1983 economic processes are reflected by stocked shelves in shops to meet the needs of the community.

During their debate on the state budget the Sejm deputies made several proposals whose implementation would increase the budget deficit of billions of zloty by another several score. However, two proposals merit special attention: the need to adjust wages in the health service and to implement the third stage of raising retiree pensions and family allowances. Fully adjusting health service wages will cost about 222 billion and raising retiree pensions in the third stage will cost about 219 billion. It is proposed that the government examine the possibility for adjusting health service wages.

However, the acceleration of the third stage raise in retiree pensions is most necessary and should be implemented together with some food price hikes, which are being discussed with the public. The funds for this purpose should be taken from the budget reserves and savings.

Most of the budget expenditures are social in character. That is why attention should be given to whether the proportions of the division of budgetary funds between collective and individual consumption are correct and whether these funds should be divided into consumption and accumulation. That is why the proposal should be examined that every draft budget legislation be considered by the Sejm together with the finance minister's analysis of the fiscal results the legislation in question may cause in regard to future budget expenditures. This analysis should be accompanied by the minister's opinion concerning the results in question.

The 1984 draft budget legislation provides for high increases in our trade with the socialist countries (R8.1 billion for exports and R8.8 billion for imports).

The expected long-term loans given to us by the USSR should make it possible for us to import more than we export. This will be of crucial help in ameliorating our present economic difficulties.

The part of the 1984 draft balance of payments that concerns our trade with the capitalist countries was drawn up with an eye on the present economic sanctions directed at our country's interests. The "loan blockade" is one such sanction. Under the present conditions when we are unable to buy on credit even the goods that are bought everywhere on credit, our own incomes from exports are almost the only source of paying for every expenditure we make.

The draft balance of payments envisages that our incomes from exports will increase from \$5.5 billion in 1983 to \$6.2 billion in 1984. This money must be able to pay for the most necessary imports of materials and goods from the Western countries and for some costs of the servicing of our debts.

The draft plan provides for increasing import expenditure from \$4.5 billion in 1983 to \$4.8 billion in 1984. It also provides for some foreign exchange funds to be used for servicing our debts.

The fact that we continue to spend funds to repay loans and interest within the limits dictated by our payment situation not only reflects our political resolve to settle our accounts with our partners through mutual accord, but is also proof of our efforts to create conditions for rebuilding our economic cooperation with those groups of our creditors who want normalization of relations.

The Sejm commissions positively evaluated the Polish National Bank's draft loan plan and the draft balance of the population's cash incomes and expenditures and agreed that it is necessary to consistently use loans as an indirect instrument of mobilizing the funds owned by those who take loans. They also agreed that it is desirable to increase the interest on loans for the units of the nonsocialized economy and for the people to the level of the average interest paid on savings deposits.

The budget deficit, the unbalanced loan plan and the precarious balance of the population's incomes and expenditures indicate to what extent our economy is unbalanced.

That is why we must not be too rash in making decisions on increasing or decreasing budget expenditures or on raising wages without ensuring in advance that the necessary mass of goods and an adequate volume of services are available.

HUPALOWSKI REPORT ON 'BAD ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT'

AU041533 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Dec 83 p 6

["Summary" of speech by General of Division Tadeusz Hupalowski, chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, at the 29 December Warsaw session of the Sejm]

[Excerpts] I would like to devote my speech to some manifestations of bad economic management because I want to make a contribution to the debate on the state budget.

The recent inquiries by the Supreme Chamber of Control into the progress of the work aimed at conserving fuels and energy have brought to light many cases of neglect, delays, and even glaring abuses of duty. If this state of affairs is not promptly rectified, the feasibility of the conservation and austerity plans for 1984-85 will become problematic.

The plan for 1983-84 provided for lowering the material intensiveness of industrial production by 1.9-2.1 percent a year. It is estimated that the conservation and austerity tasks will be implemented only at the level of 1.5 percent at best.

The materials economy often has been examined by the Supreme Chamber of Control, which has found out that the replacement of imported materials with domestic materials has been unsatisfactory, that the technical-organizational measures aimed at changing the structure of production and at modernizing the designs of goods and the technology of production have not been implemented, and that tangible improvements in reducing the waste of production materials and the losses of the materials economy have not been made.

Let me also say a few words about another kind of waste, which is most widespread and most destructive and whose true size is difficult to estimate. I have in mind the waste of working time. It is true that absenteeism through sickness and unjustified absenteeism have gone down this year, but shifts continue not to be manned to a great extent. One of the reasons for the loss of working time is the incorrect functioning of the services and institutions responsible for providing services for workers in enterprises and at their homes. The largest losses of working time continue to be caused by making purchases in canteens, kiosks, and enterprise shops. Over 80 percent of workers questioned on the subject by the Supreme Chamber of Control stated that they spent 30 or more minutes each day making such purchases. The bad organization of sales was responsible for the waste of time. Moreover, every third worker questioned left his place of work to make purchases in the shops outside of enterprises mainly because the sale of more attractive goods generally took place before noon.

Not all the losses of time are registered. However, even rough estimates show that most groups of workers work in fact only about 34 hours a week instead of the required 42 hours and that about 80 percent of these 34 hours is worked effectively. In this regard we are at the bottom of the list of European countries.

Bad economic management and waste inevitably go hand in hand with the plague of property thefts and of abuses motivated by the greed for profit. Building materials continue to disappear from construction sites as a matter of course. In 1982 over 27,000 cases of thefts from railroad cars were registered. Almost 12,000 such thefts were registered in the first half of this year.

The ease with which one can appropriate public property is a result of the lack of adequate protection of this property. Inaccurate records of goods, chaos in documentation, and the absence of evidence concerning production, supplies, consumption, and sales of materials and products make it possible to evade control in appropriating public property for profit. The Supreme Chamber of Control will intensify its work in this regard. The verified cases of unjustified losses will be recorded as carefully as ever and the militia will be informed. The people guilty of economic neglect and crimes must not get away with them.

We expect that the consistent implementation of the economic reform and its recent modifications will induce enterprises to practice more rational economic management. However, the mechanisms of the reform must be reinforced by goodwill, responsibility for one's own activities and those of others, and by concern for progress in all fields of management, economic husbandry, and production.

PZPR, SD STATEMENT ON SMALL-SCALE PRODUCTION

AU041352 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Dec 83 p 2

["The Position of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the SD Central Committee Presidium on More Fully Exploiting the Development Potential of Small-Scale Production To Better Meet the Needs of the Population and To Improve the Effectiveness of the Economy"; issued in Warsaw in December 1983]

[Text] I.

The PZPR Politburo and the SD Presidium reaffirm the correctness and topicality of their joint position on developing the sphere of services and small-scale production. This position was announced on 9 December 1980.

The implementation of the joint policy of the PZPR and the SD in this regard, the militant activities of PZPR and SD cells and organizations, and the activities of the government, individual ministries, and people's councils were responsible for the development of socialized small-scale production and for the increase of the production-service potential of trades in 1981-83. This implementation inspired earlier development and implementation of the concept and the process of the principles of the economic reform in small-scale production. Thanks to that, small-scale production has been able to adapt itself more effectively to the difficult economic conditions and to continuously increase its production.

It is necessary to fully consolidate the militant activities of PZPR and SD cells and organizations, of the Sejm, the government, and people's councils to exploit the potential of small-scale production in order to better meet the needs of the population and to improve the effectiveness of the economy.

II.

The PZPR Politburo and the SD Presidium state that the further development of small-scale production, including trades, is socially and economically indispensable in order to improve the flow of goods and services for the population, to reduce the hardships of running households, and to raise the efficiency and effectiveness of the entire economy.

It is necessary to ensure that small-scale production meets the most urgent social and economic needs by enriching the production of consumer goods and services, extending production and services to meet the needs of agriculture and the food economy and to protect the health of the population, intensifying the production of building materials, providing repair and building services, building family houses, constructing farm out-buildings, strengthening cooperation with industrial enterprises, activating export production, exploiting local raw materials, and using secondary raw materials and scrap.

Checking the reduction in daily services that are necessary for the functioning of households requires special attention. Regenerating service potential, improving availability and quality of services, and raising standards of service calls for special solicitude of government bodies, managements, and self-management bodies of small-scale production units. To implement this task it is desirable to search for new organizational, economic, and legal solutions. This will help expand this sphere of economic activity by increasing the vocational activation of society, including retirees, women on maternity leave, and other people. At the same time, it is necessary to seek to rapidly eliminate unfavorable features of the performance of small-scale production.

The increase in the share of small-scale production in national industrial production from 8.4 percent in 1982 to 10.8 percent in 1985 -- this increase has been adopted by the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-85 -- is a minimum task. The increased share of small- and medium-sized economic units in the structure of the national economy will help to more fully exploit the specific features of small-scale production, such as its ability to take in changing conditions, its flexibility of action, its inventiveness, its influence on people to begin production, and so on.

It is necessary to search for possibilities for developing small-scale production primarily in increasing the production-service potential of socialized production, especially of state (local) small-scale industry, labor cooperatives, and cooperatives run by the disabled and blind.

The PZPR Politburo and the SD Presidium reaffirm that small-scale production has its permanent place in the national economy. The further development of small-scale production should more than ever favor the cultivation of good traditions of trades, raise vocational ethics, and eliminate casual workers who want merely to get rich quick at the expense of society and with the lowest expenditure of labor.

III.

The PZPR Politburo and the SED Presidium recognize that the economic and socioeducational aims and tasks of small-scale production should be effectively supported by:

-- ensuring that small-scale production has the same right as other economic units to supplies of production materials on the strength of the effectiveness of utilizing raw and other materials;

-- stable systems-type solutions, especially taxation solutions, that make allowances for the specific features of small-scale production (higher labor intensiveness, especially of export production, lower technical standards of fixed assets, and utilization of scrap) and for the implementation of important social functions such as rehabilitation of the disabled, employment of the blind, and cottage production;

-- increasing the share of the local bodies of the power apparatus and state administration in running the development of small-scale production, that is, in developing economic conditions, determining the socially necessary lines of development of small-scale production units, transferring unused production facilities to these units, and so on.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the SD Central Committee Presidium also recognize that it is necessary to counter all irregularities and distortions in the performance of small-scale production units. The PZPR and the SD will not tolerate incomes that run counter to the principles of socialism and are out of proportion of actual work, and will take action against attempts to get rich at the cost of the population. PZPR and SD members active in state administration, control bodies, cooperatives, and self-management bodies will resolutely combat such irregularities by taking action through self-management and on the strength of the law. It is necessary to increase the effectiveness of the actions aimed at curbing excessive price hikes for goods and services and at raising their quality.

Workers, cooperative, and trade self-management bodies have to play an important role in developing small-scale production units. Increased powers of self-management bodies should go hand in hand with increased responsibility for the correct performance of the units in which these bodies are active. Self-management bodies and their echelons should be more effective in reacting to the irregularities in the performance of the independent small-scale production units.

IV.

Aware of the importance of developing small-scale production and of its potential possibilities for more actively participating in the process of economic stabilizations of present structural changes, the PZPR Politburo and the SD Presidium propose that the Sejm should examine the problems of developing small-scale production and services. They instruct the PZPR and SD Sejm Deputies' Clubs to include this proposal in the plan of the 1984 Sejm sessions. They also believe that the government should draw up a program for developing small-scale production and services and present to the Sejm draft legislation on small-scale production with a view to defining the prospects of this production and the stability of its basic systems-type solutions.

The PZPR Politburo and the SD Presidium instruct their cells and bodies to continue joint actions in favor of developing small-scale production and services and to periodically evaluate progress in this regard at joint meetings of PZPR and SD cells and at other meetings. They instruct their members active in small-scale production units, self-management bodies, people's councils, local administration, ministries, and central administrative bodies to create comprehensive conditions for developing the socially desirable forms of small-scale production and for countering the negative manifestations in this field.

The PZPR Politburo and the SD Presidium express the conviction that the consistent implementation of the PZPR-SD policy in small-scale production and services will promote their development, will help meet the working people's needs more effectively, and will reduce the hardships of citizens' lives.

Signed: The PZPR Politburo and the SD Presidium

LECH WALESA INTERVIEWED BY PROFIL, LE MATIN

PROFIL Interview

AU040822 Vienna PROFIL No 1 in German 2 Jan 84 pp 32-37

[Interview with former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by PROFIL reporter Helmut Voska; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] PROFIL: It is maddening to see that you, Mr Walassa, were not even able to deliver a speech commemorating the workers killed by the regime, that the thousands of workers of the Lenin Shipyard, after work, were driven past the memorial like sheep, and that tight militia cordons even prevented silent protests -- the laying of flowers, the placing of candles. Does this make you furious?

Walesa: Naturally, one could write furious polemics about this. But that is the way it is -- we have decided to pursue the policy of nonviolent protest, the struggle with arguments rather than with fists.

PROFIL: But your nonviolent protest does not get you anywhere.

Walesa: Violence does not get us anywhere. I am only furious about the fact that our struggle to date has not resulted in our being able to sit at a negotiating table together with the government, and there present our arguments. I firmly believe that there is always a way out, but we cannot always find it. Just think of the Wild West. In the first historical phase there was only the rule of fist, guns, and violence. Before one learned to respect the Constitution, many people were killed in the Wild West. And before we get our partner to the chessboard for a joint game, there will also be many victims.

PROFIL: Let us return to the actual situation in Poland, an experience that has made me furious: A taxi driver took me to your apartment house, 17d Politow Street; all streets in your neighborhood were lined with militia and police patrol cars; there were water cannons and armored cars, and directly in front of the entrance to the house there was a car with four plainclothes detectives. The Nobel Peace Prize laureate sits like a rat in the trap of an inhumane regime.

Walesa: It makes me laugh. It is not I who am afraid of them; it is they who are afraid of me. I would be dissatisfied only if no one were standing there. Then I could not help feeling that they were paying no attention to me, that they don't respect me, they don't fear me. The more they guard me, the more important I am. Were I not dangerous, I would be left alone.

PROFIL: I draw from this sad conclusion: You have failed as a workers leader, as a politician, and probably also as a Noble Peace Prize recipient. There is no more hope for you and for the Polish people, no hope for salvation. Indeed Poland is already lost. All that is left for you is the alternative: to emigrate, or hang yourself.

Walesa: No, No, it is not like that at all. You are oversimplifying things. This is like giving a 5-year-old boy a 100-kilo weight and saying: "He'll never be able to lift it." When he is grown up and has undergone some training, he will be able to lift it quite easily. Give me another 2 years for training, and then we will see.

PROFIL: But your struggle will take a long time. At present you cannot wage it at all. You are completely isolated, confined to barracks, imprisoned. Our talk is taking place in a secret place, under the strictest security precautions. You do not know whether you will be able to leave here unmolested, nor do we know whether we will be able to get our tapes and films through the militia controls.

Walesa: Yes, but I am winning in this manner. People know the restrictions imposed upon me, and as long as they are maintained, they will struggle against them. They are rolling up their sleeves themselves, and struggling at my side. If I were all alone, and not isolated and imprisoned, I don't know whether I could do as much as all Poles are doing at present. Thus, it is not so very tragic; there is always a way out. I am a seeker and -- you can depend on that -- also a finder.

PROFIL: In your apartment there are countless listening devices, secret service bugs -- how can a person stand that?

Walesa: I am playing ball. My wife Danuta and I know that every word we say is being monitored. We are talking with the bugging devices. I whistle and blow into them.

PROFIL: Is it not irresponsible in this situation to give the people false hopes? Recently you called out to a few Walesa fans from your living room window: "Don't freeze, folks. We have a long road to go, but a victorious one." Will you live to see the end of that road?

Walesa: Yes. I cannot desert the people. I must continue to motivate them. I must intimate to them what they should do. They must maintain solidarity -- in their families, in the parishes. Primarily they must not stop believing in themselves. The difficulties we are up against strengthen our fighting spirit. If we had no difficulties, everyone would sit back and do nothing. I cannot present complete solutions to problems on a silver platter to anyone. Such solutions must come from the people and must be enforced by the people. Should some smart guy appear again who believes that he can manipulate all the people, my compatriots will see through him. They will analyze their situation themselves and think all the problems out. We will all arrive at the same conclusion. That is my aim, and on this I stake my hopes for victory.

PROFIL: Let us look back into the past: Was it inevitable that things developed the way they did? Did you, did Solidarity, make mistakes before the proclamation of martial law?

Walesa: No. We have not made any mistakes. But let me ask you a question in return: Did you have to attend the first grade of elementary school? We, too, first had to go through the first grade of elementary school. All societal movements first have to learn to read and write. There are barriers one cannot simply jump over. We, too, had to start from scratch. It is only at a later stage that one becomes a graduate engineer. This was a sociopolitically necessary first phase. In order to be able to attain greater objectives it is now necessary to try and cope better with the second phase. Now we are about to tackle this second phase. And to me there is no doubt that we will successfully master it.

PROFIL: Looking back, would you do everything again just as you did it?

Walesa: Yes, and I'll tell you why: For 40 years, our people were always kept in tutelage. In 1956, in 1970, and in 1978 we rebelled against this tutelage. But only in 1980 did we take successful countermeasures. At that time we had only two possibilities: negotiations with the authorities or attempting to put through new solutions. Since we were not yet graduate engineers, but only first-grade elementary school students, we did not come up with solutions at the engineers' level. But we have learned our lessons from that, as well as from martial law. Now we have time to study the situation. This would not have been possible in one jump. When, if not now, should we have prepared solutions? How should we have put them through? Now we have put things in order; now we have removed the dust from our edifice of ideas, and are about to cement a solid foundation.

This is how the Polish situation looks at present. It is not understood by everyone. Some are collapsing under the strain of this reconstruction, -- like you, for example, when you said that Walesa has lost. We are no longer in the 19th century. The machines for building the edifice have already been invented. We will make the government realize that tanks and water cannons do not bring any solutions. And the government will realize that it will not get anywhere with its methods.

PROFIL: During the past 3 years were you rather a "brakeman" or an "accelerator" of the evolutionary development in Solidarity?

Walesa: I have steered a middle-of-the-road course. I wanted all workers to thoroughly think about their political situation. They should learn democracy and seek solutions that help all Polish people. I knew all along that during the first 15 months of our movement we would not achieve any genuine results.

PROFIL: Lately the name Bujak has been shouted more often than the name Walesa at demonstrations. Have you already lost your leading role? Are you jealous?

Walesa: No, I am happy that someone is growing up who can someday take my place. It is not very important who is the leader; what matters is only what the movement wants. I will most gladly arrange my succession, but I will not quit our movement out of laziness. I do not regard myself as the most intelligent or best of us. Anyone who has better arguments than I do will get my support. I am merely a little worm. I do not overrate myself.

PROFIL: What do you think of Worker's Social Self-Defense Committee ideologists Kuron and Michnik?

Walesa: It is not good that they are imprisoned. They are in jail for our cause. We must not forget them. We must do everything to bring about their release. Politically, I often held different opinions. But I know that they have done much good. It is not only I who owes them a great deal. They know that they can always rely on me.

PROFIL: Kuron and Michnik are said to have been threatened with prison terms of many years in order to induce them to emigrate. Should they emigrate, or risk what might be lifetime imprisonment?

Walesa: Everyone must decide in accordance with his own conscience. In any event they can count on my support and, in any event, I will try to understand their decision.

PROFIL: Would it harm your movement if Kuron and Michnik were to leave the country?

Walesa: As far as I am concerned, I would never emigrate. The worse the situation in Poland is, the more I am needed here in the country. This does not mean, however, that I will not try to get to know other countries as well, once my task is fulfilled. But I will always remain a Pole.

PROFIL: Will the price increases and the cuts in food rations again lead to a revolutionary mood among the people?

Walesa: Annoyance over price increases also exists in your country, although you have a great deal more than we do. No one likes price increases; we particularly fear them because we do not have anything. And in our country there are no wage increases, either. I believe that the forthcoming price increase will be painful, but minimal. But the next price increase, which will be larger, will invariably follow. The government has so many weapons, it has so many tanks, that it can enforce even the biggest price increase. But this will not solve any problems.

People will be even less ready to do good work. These are not methods that will lead to any solution of our problems, and that is why there will be no progress.

PROFIL: Which methods would you offer?

Walesa: Solidarity. We must at long last sit down together at the conference table and find compromises. Without the threat of tanks we would arrive at genuine results -- though I must say that we are not overly impressed by the tanks.

PROFIL: Mr Walesa, could you accept the following political program for Poland: The peasants are to be liberated from the bondage of compulsory collectivism, and the workers from the servitude of the communist factory owners who deny them just wages and, nevertheless, make no profits because the communist party bureaucrats simply cannot manage enterprises; in other words, an improvement could be possible only after the overthrow of the ruling communist class and of the corruptible central planning system?

Walesa: No, I do not agree with this program. It is necessary to create conditions where thinking peasants and thinking workers manage their enterprises themselves. I am repeating more or less what the pope has said far more impressively: Alone, by performing his work, the worker is part owner of his factory. He must have this feeling of ownership. He must fully agree with the distribution of the profits earned or the losses incurred. He must have the opportunity to make suggestions for improvements and to express criticism. And if he is right, then these proposals must actually be implemented. Today the worker is no longer uneducated. That is why he rightly demands influence on public life. No social model is superior to another in every respect. Your private business and our collectivist model -- they both have advantages and disadvantages. But certainly we must not forget that every person is an individual and wants his privacy. And, in this respect, he must not be restricted. It is necessary to create systems in which the individual also enjoys life in the private sector. It is certainly inconceivable for a private person to reserve an entire train for himself while the others have to walk. They would fire such a person.

PROFIL: Is there such a thing as communism with a human face?

Walesa: I am not familiar with theoretical communism, only practical communism. Look and see what has become of communism. Look and see how theoretical communism has been put into practice. Here one can certainly raise one's justified objections.

PROFIL: Can you imagine a situation where the Nobel Peace Prize laureate calls on the masses to resort to violence?

Walesa: No. I can only call for a struggle of arguments. I am against physical struggle and against forcible solutions. The better arguments should and will win.

PROFIL: How many of your friends are in detention, what are they charged with, when will they be released from the prisons?

Walesa: Here in Gdansk, 29 are detained....

PROFIL: And throughout Poland?

Walesa: That we don't know. The number fluctuates daily; there are always new arrests, but also releases. In a few days we will know how many of our friends were arrested after the commemoration day of 16 December.

PROFIL: Can you imagine playing a role in a new trade union? Will it be possible for you in the foreseeable future to join the regime-controlled Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth or something along these lines, or would you thereby lose all credibility among Polish workers?

Walesa: The government has invited me to do so. I have declined, and will continue to refuse to let myself be harnessed to such organizations.

PROFIL: What do you want the Western democracies and the neutral countries to do? Are we to continue to grant the corrupt regime more loans running into the billions, from our taxpayers money, or are we to grant such loans only when all political prisoners are released? Should we extort with our money more freedom for the Polish workers, or should we stop the flow of money and thus help bring about the catastrophe more quickly?

Walesa: I believe that the restrictions imposed by the U.S. Government have already served their purpose. Hence, one should now abandon them. Credits and loans are quite a different matter. We have no social control over them, and thus cannot say what your funds are actually used for. Every friend of Poland will therefore support the unconditional lifting of the restrictions. We do not know whether credits and loans are properly used. We do have certain doubts in this respect.

PROFIL: What do you need most urgently: Money, food, or prayers?

Walesa: Prayers and God's help. Pray for Poland.

LE MATIN Interview

PM031504 Paris LE MATIN in French 26 Dec 83 p 5

[Interview with former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Olivier S. Stefani; date and place not given]

[Text] LE MATIN: Some observers viewed the recent demonstrations on 16 December as a failure. Is that your feeling?

Lech Walesa: Certainly not. In fact it all depends on what you want to believe. If you were expecting fireworks there were not any and could not be any. So, in that case, it is possible to talk of failure. But that is not the correct analysis. Since we advocate a peaceful struggle without any violence, we are particularly satisfied with our people's state of mind. I repeat that it is necessary to win, but without violence. The Poles have not perpetrated any extreme actions, and not all street demonstrations should necessarily be seen as a positive result. The fight can take other forms.

LE MATIN: What were you expecting on this second anniversary of the coup d'etat?

Lech Walesa: I was expecting the Poles to demonstrate their commonsense and show that they are thinking clearly. With such potential our society has again demonstrated that it is capable of going further. It knows its strength and is certainly not losing its energy. When it cannot struggle in conventional ways, it seeks other possibilities. It always has the same one objective in mind: to avoid fruitless losses at any price.

LE MATIN: Have you drawn specific conclusions from these recent demonstrations?

Lech Walesa: Certainly. But you will forgive me for saying nothing in public. We are keeping those conclusions to ourselves. We are guarding them closely.

LE MATIN: Are there disagreements between you and Solidarity's clandestine leadership?

Lech Walesa: I know that some Western journalists are saying that. Words are left out of my sentences, people speculate and hastily conclude that statements I have allegedly made show disagreement. That is untrue. People have gone so far as to say that I spoke of a "mistake." That is also untrue. I have never passed judgment on the clandestine leadership and I will not change my attitude.

LE MATIN: You do not share all the analyses made by the clandestine leadership?

Lech Walesa: I may dispute some points in an internal context, among ourselves. There is no question of my doing so in public. The clandestine leadership will not hesitate to criticize me either. But they will abide by our common rule: not to reveal anything in public. In an internal context, however, we can have discussions on the basis of many opinions and positions.

LE MATIN: The government has apparently decided to postpone the price hike scheduled for early 1984. Do you think this is a gesture to promote the so-called "new trade unions?"

Lech Walesa: I have no idea and, frankly, I do not care. Your question is no doubt relevant, and you ought to put it to Mr Urban, General Jaruzelski's spokesman. Not to me.

LE MATIN: Nonetheless, it seems inevitable that that a price hike will take place in a few weeks or a few months. Will the Polish population react violently?

Lech Walesa: We will react like you in France. I suppose that you would be dissatisfied, too, in an identical situation. Nobody likes that. I have nothing else to say about it for the time being.

LE MATIN: Some Catholic priests are now being threatened by the government. They are the object of inquiries and proceedings. Is the government taking a tougher attitude?

Lech Walesa: It would be much worse if there was no talk about them. Public opinion listens to its priests because it thinks they are right. The reason why people are investigating them is that they exist, have influence, and are heeded. Nobody takes any account of people who are politically dead. The government is attacking the priests because they are active. That is the important thing.

LE MATIN: Are these priests facing all this harassment because of you? Has the Nobel prizewinner become untouchable for the authorities?

Lech Walesa: I cannot say; I do not know the government's aims. So far I have not noticed anything special. In any case I have not altered my behavior in the least. I am working to help society, and certainly not for the government. I would really be happy if I could combine the two.

LE MATIN: Does the awarding of that Nobel Prize not have the disadvantage of restricting you to an essentially honorary role? Does it not make you, to use a terrible word, apolitical?

Lech Walesa: How can we distinguish between these two notions -- political and apolitical? It is difficult. Things which were not political before have become political now. Will I be able to benefit from that prize or not? Time will show. I will do everything I can to use that capital in the best possible way. And in 5 years time we will be able to make an assessment.

LEADERS SEND GREETINGS TO CUBA ON NATIONAL DAY

AU041704 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 83/1 Jan 84 pp 1-2

[Greetings message from Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski to Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party and chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, on Cuban National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, in Havana:

On the 25th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution, we send you, dear Comrade Fidel Castro, the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, the State Council and Council of Ministers, and the entire Cuban people fraternal greetings and best wishes on behalf of the supreme authorities of the PPR and Polish society.

A quarter of a century ago the heroic struggle against the Batista dictatorship for Cuba's full independence and social progress ended with a victory by the revolutionary forces and with the emergence of the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere.

The achievements of the Cuban revolution, its internationalist involvement, and your country's energetic foreign policy have earned high esteem and genuine recognition in the world.

Today, in the face of the growing aggressiveness by American imperialism in various parts of the world, especially in Central America and the Caribbean, a glaring example of which was the brutal U.S. invasion of Grenada, the efforts fraternal Cuba is making to solve conflicts peacefully and defend the sovereign rights of the nations in this region enjoy our solidarity and full support.

We are pleased with the achievements of the Cuban people, who despite great odds and many dangers from outside are successfully implementing the socioeconomic development program established by the First and Second Cuban Communist Party Congresses.

We highly value the support that the Communists and the people of Cuba have shown for the PPR authorities' action to thwart the plans of the domestic and foreign opponents of socialism, overcome our socioeconomic difficulties, and attain complete stability.

We unchangingly attach great importance to the comprehensive development of fraternal friendship and cooperation between Poland and Cuba. This cooperation is even more important today, at a time when both our nations are the targets of particularly vicious attacks by American imperialism. We are convinced that this cooperation will help bring our nations closer together and will strengthen peace and progress in the world.

We wish you, dear Comrade Fidel, the Communist Party, and the fraternal Cuban people success in consolidating the revolution's achievements and a further successful development of your fatherland.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the PRR State Council

U.S. DECISION ON UNESCO CALLED 'HARMFUL'

AU051435 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 84 p 2

[Milan Milivojevic commentary: "Harmful Decision"]

[Text] The decision of the United States to withdraw from UNESCO by the end of the year is a regrettable and harmful step not only for that organization but also for the United States itself. The State Department's explanation of this decision perhaps contains some logic for the Americans but it is not convincing to the world as a whole.

How is one to interpret the claims that UNESCO "has become too politicized, that it does not manage its funds economically, and that it threatens the freedom of the press?" If the aspiration to make known the achievements and cultural heritages of all countries, small and big, is considered a sign of "politicization," then this is true. Any denial of this right represents a threat to the principle of universality.

After all, the Americans have always exhibited great enthusiasm in presenting their own values and achievements to the rest of the world and "politicization" has not been exactly absent in this connection. Nevertheless, it seems that what is involved is something that was apparent in the UN General Assembly as far back as a few years ago when the U.S. ambassador to the UN indignantly spoke about the "tyranny of the majority," having in mind the increasingly strong demand of the nonaligned and other developing countries to be able to participate in solving the world affairs on an equal basis.

Regarding the "economical management of funds," this is only a covert expression of a blackmailing attitude according to the system of "no obedience, no money." It is true that the United States provides 20 percent of the UNESCO funds but this is an insignificant amount in comparison with the mammoth budget approved for armaments.

And finally, there is the claim that the UNESCO activities aimed at establishing a new international information system represent a "threat to the freedom of the press." This claim completely openly shows the intention of the United States to retain its hegemony in the world market of information, the one-way flow of which serves the interests of the industrialized Western countries.

Having realized the harmfulness of this situation, the nonaligned countries formed, a little less than 10 years ago, the pool of news agencies of the nonaligned countries which has relatively quickly asserted itself as a very suitable instrument in the sphere of changing the international information system. Rallying an increasingly large number of news agencies of the nonaligned world and increasing more and more the flow of information from these countries, the pool has become a thorn in the eyes of the "powerful ones" in the world market of news information. The American press' undivided support for the Reagan administration's decision to withdraw the United States from UNESCO most evidently attests to this.

Unmistakably indicative in this connection is the reaction of the American Commission for UNESCO whose members have declared that the United States would most certainly lose its influence in the activity of that organization if it leaves it. Whose "politicization" then is involved in this connection?

However, an entire year still has to pass before this decision of Washington is fully implemented, which means that there is ample time for examining the merits of the decision. Clearly, a continued U.S. membership in UNESCO would benefit both the United States and UNESCO as well as the world organization as a whole.

DEBT-FREE CLAIM BY ALBANIAN REGIME REFUTED

AU041627 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Dec 83 p 2

[Zoran Mandzuka commentary; "Tirana's Debts"]

[Text] In his callous policy replete with frauds, changes, and breaks, and involving constant quarrels with all of his collaborators, usually the closest ones, Enver Hoxha has remained consistent in one respect: his anti-Yugoslav attitude. Like many times in the past, the officials in Tirana are again attacking Yugoslavia. In this settling of accounts with reality, they are attacking everything, and recently they have been assaulting especially our economic relations with foreign countries and our troubles, in fact the things that we write about most frankly ourselves...

Our credit relations with foreign countries are also at the center of the Albanian attacks on Yugoslavia. Tirana is officially silent about Albanian debts. It is silent for a good reason. It is also silent for a purpose, for the officials in Tirana are still telling themselves that "Albania is the only socialist country," that it is the only one that is "building itself with its own forces," and they point out that it is "the only country that does not owe anything to anybody." They also remind people of the fact that the Albanian People's Assembly in 1976 inserted in the Constitution an article that forbids any borrowing abroad...

What is the truth, however?

Was not the adoption of this article of the Constitution in fact a formal confirmation that all the credit commitments toward foreign countries are repudiated? These commitments were not small either then or now or in the future -- something that no propaganda and no articles in ZERI I POPULLIT can disclaim.

In the turns of his policy, Enver Hoxha leaned on several countries and then broke with them; in the time immediately after the war, he leaned on Yugoslavia, later on the Soviet Union, and then on China.... Now, as we all know, he is all alone and lonely. In the series of purges which go on continuously he lost even his closest collaborators.

Here are some data from those years, the first postwar years, that is, the times when Tirana cheered its friendship with Yugoslavia and when even Enver Hoxha -- with much reason, of course -- spoke about unselfish Yugoslav aid: Yugoslav claims amounted to \$42,749,658 and Albanian claims to \$707,459. It is easy to calculate the outstanding balance even when one takes into account the rate of exchange valid at that time: Albania owed and still owes \$41,979,199....

All this is based on international agreements; all this is based on documents: There is much of the same that is not written down, all that was sent from Yugoslavia to Albania either as unrepayable aid or as uncalculated aid for military and other purposes -- to use just one example.

Then came the period of Albania's good relations with Moscow. According to incomplete data from the 1948-60 period -- the period of Tirana's fierce and violent attacks on Yugoslavia and Tirana's fierce and intense claim of its loyalty to Moscow -- Albania's debt to the Soviet Union amounts to about 120 million rubles.... Moscow continues to keep this problem unsolved, while Tirana continues to ignore it, believing, perhaps, that a break in diplomatic relations could also bring a certain material benefit.

A new period for Albanian officials began when they again readily and cordially turned to China, and when, as in the past, they saw a way out of their difficulties in attacks on Yugoslavia. In 1978, Tirana once again broke off with another of its "eternal allies." According to incomplete estimates, Albania owes Beijing \$5.3 billion.... During that period China built 142 projects in Albania, 91 of which were completely finished, 23 of them were left in the final stage of construction, while 17 of them were left at a project-and-study stage.... Albania also received in form of unrepayable aid 10,000 tractors, many metric tons of grain, and even more in equipment and weapons. It is remembered, for instance, that in 1975 Beijing granted an unrepayable credit of 50 million yuan.

Today, after all these reckless acts and despite them, Enver Hoxha keeps repeating that Albania is the only country that does not owe anything to anyone. Repeating this, Albania media keeps repeating information about Yugoslavia's indebtedness abroad. It appears that all this is propaganda in Tirana fashion, using the mechanism of current trade relations to score a propaganda point.

Peculiar to these same officials is also the fact that in the agreements they conclude nowadays they seek advantages and concessions, knowing that, because of obvious political reasons, they will get them -- which they do. In all this, one thing is almost always clear: the reason for Albanian's continuous attacks on Yugoslavia.

CONSTRUCTION OF RAILROAD TO ALBANIA DELAYED

AU051423 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 83 p 7

[D. Jolic report]

[Summary] Titograd, Dec -- Work on the construction of the Yugoslav part of the Titograd-Shkoder railroad is underway, but will by no means be finished on time. "The question is whether the railroad line will be finished even 1 year after the previously envisaged time limit." Explaining this, Engineer Rajko Vujkovic, director of the directorate for the construction of the railroad, said that after the bid was concluded, the prices changed. The law on the construction of the Yugoslav part of the Titograd-Shkoder railroad line, according to the prices in 1980, envisaged that 1,018,000,000 dinars would be provided for the construction of the railroad. The Federal Executive Council formed an interrepublican commission which renewed the estimate according to the prices in December 1982 and the sum to be provided is now 2,110,000,000 dinars. The SFRY Assembly has still failed to adopt the amendments to the law and the works could be contracted only within the limit of the sum envisaged by the previous law -- 1,018,000,000 dinars.

At present, the only work underway is laying the roadbed. "The Zagreb Hidroelektra organization is working on the first section of 11.5 km, the Titograd Lovceninvest Composite Organization of Associated Labor is working on the second section of 5.5 km, and the Sarajevo Railroad Transportation Enterprise, together with Lovceninvest, is working on the third section of 7.5 km. The greatest progress has been made in the construction of two bridges -- over the Cijevna River and over the Titograd-Tuzi highway -- which is being done by the Belgrade Mostogradnja organization."

The building of the two tunnels, one of which is over 2 km long, and of the big embankment near the Vuksanlekic Village has also started.

Other works have not been contracted, but the organizations to perform them are already known: The Novi Sad Railroad Transportation Organization will build the track structure (at a value of 613 million dinars), the Prijepolje Construction Work Organization will construct buildings and installations of the Titograd and Tuzi railroad stations (92 million dinars), and the Belgrade factory for signaling devices, a part of the Nis Electronic Factory, will install safety, signaling, and telecommunication devices (over 92 million dinars' worth).

Another problem the directorate faces is that the republics and provinces fulfill their obligations towards them very irregularly -- instead of about 850 million dinars for the last year and the 9 months of this year, it received only 377 million dinars. "The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the SR of Bosnia-Herzegovina have completely fulfilled their obligation so far. Other republics, except for Slovenia which failed to pay a single dinar, have partly fulfilled the obligation."

There is also the problem with the expropriation of the land: A disagreement exists between the directorate and the Titograd 13 July Agricultural Combine over the quantity of land to be expropriated and the compensation for it.

COUNCIL VIEWS IMPLEMENTATION OF PRICE CEILINGS

LD052158 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 5 Jan 84

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jan (TANJUG) -- At its session today, chaired by Borisav Srebric, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] considered information on the implementation of the decision concerning the determination of price ceilings for products and services within the competence of all sociopolitical communities. The FEC noted that some organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities violated the decision on freezing prices and in various ways tried to evade it. It was especially noted that this was done by increasing the compensation for various services, by changing the technical norms, by lowering the quality of individual products and announcing so-called new products, by increasing various taxes, and so on.

The FEC emphasizes that all sociopolitical organizations and the competent organs of sociopolitical communities and self-management organs in the organizations of associated labor should strive for consistent implementation of the decision on freezing prices and prevention of all possible attempts to evade it. Without consistent implementation of this decision it is impossible to carry out the essential aims of the economic policy determined for this year, especially on preserving the standard of living, slowing down inflation, and safeguarding the effects of the decision on eliminating disparity of prices.

The FEC emphasizes that all forms of price increases since the adoption of the decision concerning the determination of price ceilings are illegal. The FEC therefore concluded that all organs and organizations that decided to increase the prices of products and services must return them to the original level. In order to consistently implement the decision on the freezing of prices and this year's policy in this field, the FEC will undertake all measures within its competence. In this connection, the Council empowered the inspectorate and other organs to undertake measures against all who violate the decision on freezing prices.

On the basis of reports by the market inspectorate and other organs, organizations of associated labor which will not observe this decision will be denied further credits and use of primary issue. Other sanctions will also be used. The FEC obligated competent federal organs and the Federal Market Inspectorate regularly to inform the FEC and the public about their measures and findings and especially about the measures taken against the breakers of this decision.

On the basis of changes in the Law on Associated Labor, the FEC determined several draft provisions: the draft law on the determination and distribution of the total and net income, the draft law on the recovery and liquidation of the organizations of associated labor, and the draft law concerning the settlement of accounts between the users of social resources. These legal provisions are to be adopted by emergency procedure once preliminary coordination with the competent organs in the republics and provinces has been carried out.

The FEC also determined the draft law on changes and addendums to the law concerning the covering of differences which appeared in the banks in 1980, 1981 and 1982 due to foreign exchange quotations based on the dinar's altered rate of exchange and the current foreign exchange transactions by banks. This draft law also determines the way these differences which appeared in 1983 will be covered.

The proposed draft law on changes and addendums to the law concerning the postponement of the repayment of annuities arising from credits granted to the organizations of associated labor in the Province of Kosovo from the resources of the federal fund for financing the faster development of economically insufficiently developed republics and provinces proposes to defer the repayment of annuities by the organizations of associated labor in the Province of Kosovo in five equal annual amounts, with the repayment starting on 1 January [1985].

Regarding economic relations with foreign countries, the FEC adopted conclusions in connection with further development of economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the developing countries. In this connection, the competent federal organs are obligated to prepare, together with the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, a strategy of economic cooperation with the developing countries and to ensure that the determined policy of developing and encouraging economic cooperation with the developing countries is embodied in the draft social plan of the country for the period 1986-90, in keeping with long-term commitments and possibilities of our country's associated labor.

LCY'S KUCAN INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL SYSTEM

AU022001 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Dec 83 p 5

[Interview given by Milan Kucan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to BORBA; "Prepared for publication by S. Vukmirovic" -- place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified reporter] At this time of the struggle to implement the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, which does not lack certain drama, there is another great topic that has begun to occupy the public. This topic involves the political system. Is this accidental?

[Kucan] It is known that the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization -- which is not only a program of changes in the manner of economic operations, in the strategy of developing the society's material production forces, but also a program that encroaches deeply into the sphere of political relations, in the social sphere, and even in the sphere of moral views -- has made topical the task of critically reexamining and perfecting the functioning of our political system. There is an assessment contained in the final document of the Commission for Drafting the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. It says that we are in an economic crisis and that this crisis is the consequence of a nonimplementation of the position of workers in associated labor as laid down by the Constitution, that is non-implementation of the rights, responsibilities, and obligations of workers in the Organization of Associated Labor that are the substance of self-managing production relations. This assessment is well-known.

Frank, Democratic Discussion Is Necessary

[Unidentified reporter] An analysis on the functioning and further building of a democratic political system also needs a democratic public discussion. This discussion has already begun and the indications are that it will not pass without ideological confrontations.

[Kucan] To perceive in the discussion the causes of the not exactly optimistic reality of our political system and on that basis to find good answers to the questions such as for what, and in which direction we should work, then this discussion must undoubtedly be democratic, frank. However, if the discussion is such, then it is necessary to expect that various views, concepts, and proposals would appear and be made -- and they already exist -- which will not proceed from the ideological and class foundations of our social relations. Certain of these deliberations were well known when the amendments to the Constitution were adopted, but they were rejected then by arguments, and it would be worthwhile to recall these arguments more often.

[Unidentified reporter] The impression is that the most sensitive discussions begin when the possibility of specific normative changes is mentioned -- particularly possible amendments to the Constitution.

[Kucan] In this critical and creative discussion, which now turns the sociopolitical attention to our political system and transforms it into an area of rather much expressed ideopolitical confrontations, we must proceed from constitutional solutions, intentions, and goals. We have the Constitution and we are obliged to behave toward it as its authority demands. We should never forget that the Constitution -- as the realization of the LCY program, as a result and expression of the revolutionary experience of our society in the search for our own road to socialism -- is at the same time a complete program of our society's way out of the statist concept of the society's system.

[Unidentified reporter] It is mostly stated that all problems in the functioning of the political system result from a nonimplementation of the Constitution. One speaks about a dualism of our system, that is, a mixture of what is statist and self-managing. What is the truth in this?

[Kucan] The causes of the present unsatisfactory situation and of the weaknesses expressed in the functioning of the political system are, primarily, in nonimplementation of the system of socialist self-management as laid down by the Constitution and in an underestimation of the consequences of a slow implementation of the basic production relations as laid down by the Constitution.

A similar thing exists also in the field of social activities. We have very little of a free exchange of labor because here, too, the budgetary, state ways and relations of decisionmaking and financing still exist in this field.

Many blockades and many deformations also exist in the field of cadre policy. Despite all our declarations and decisions and positions, we will face many situations which are suitable to the relations when the state performed the function of owner of social resources, and when in ensuring this function the state appointed "cadres," individuals, and organs, which on its behalf carried out these functions on certain posts in social reproduction and when they were responsible exclusively to the state for performing these functions.

We have behaved for too long in an opportunistic way toward such situations, we have too long tolerated it and deliberated about it, and we ourselves are inclined -- and such tendencies are widely present in the society -- toward the desire to change this situation, to request a change in the Constitution because we identify this situation with it.

Neither Uncontrolled Force, Nor Political Pressures

[Unidentified reporter] On one occasion you warned that it is wrong to divide people into "defenders of the Constitution" and "reformers...."

[Kucan] The division into "defenders of the Constitution" and "reformers" is socially unproductive and politically damaging. It determines people in advance, affixes political labels on them that suit the political goals of the one who distributes such labels in a great way. I frequently ask myself -- in whose interest is such a division in our sociopolitical life. Moreover, I believe that because of the characteristics of our Constitution, radical demands for a change of the Constitution without any good arguments can create a situation of "attack" and "defense" on the level of a general life that is far removed from specific problems of life, a situation in which we will be unable to implement even those changes, be it in economic or political life, that are necessary.

If we continue with this provoked discussion as to who is "in favor" and who is "against" changes, without saying in this connection specifically which changes are necessary and why, then this could lead us, instead of to changes, to a situation in which relations would be blocked, in a situation in which solutions would be forced by the weight of the social situation regardless of their class goals and harmony with society's strategic orientation. And -- I am sure -- we can avoid this through a democratic and creative discussion in which arguments will be weighed, and not through uncontrolled force, political pressures, and manipulations of any kind. Communists primarily are responsible for such democratic discussion in the Socialist Alliance.

Many Laws and Little Control

[Unidentified reporter] We speak about "defenders of the Constitution" and "reformers." However, from everything it results that there exists also a third category, and they are those who violate the Constitution, and they are the most numerous and strongest. Recently we had an interview with a prominent economist who, among other things, said that the confidence of the workers class and working people in the political system is proportional to the capability of this system to implement its laws, and thus also the Constitution, as the highest law. Where is a limit in this respect beyond which there is a serious danger for the political system itself?

[Kucan] When I spoke about an unconstitutional situation I had in mind the fact -- old and well known by now -- that the most unconstitutional situation is precisely the non-implementation of the Constitution, that is, nonimplementation of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor.

In view of the concept of our federation, the constitutional powers of certain sociopolitical communities, particularly republics and provinces, and in view of the importance, volume, and quality of those functions which, as their own sovereign functions, the republics transferred to the federation by the SFRY Constitution, we have introduced a specific way of implementing the decisions of the federal level.

The responsibility for implementing the federal laws lies with the republics and provinces, except in special cases in which the Federal Executive Council has its obligation for implementing the federal laws. Many difficulties arise in this respect. In view of the fact that the SFRY Assembly, within the framework of its powers which it has as a federal organ, ensures a single system of socioeconomic relations and unified foundations of the political system, the SFRY Assembly adopts norms, primarily laws, which to the greatest extent affect our entire economic and political life and relations beginning with the basic organization of associated labor and local communities to the relations in the federation. Thus, for instance, the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, in view of the laws it adopts, has been set in an explicitly active position. The Federal Chamber also determines the policy of implementing laws, imposes guidelines to the administrative organs for work on implementing laws, and it also has political control over implementation of laws.

In practice, however, we have asserted the assembly chamber -- and also the Federal Chamber -- primarily in its legislative function. This was justified to a certain extent in the first years after the Constitution was adopted, when it was necessary to revise and to coordinate our entire legislature in accordance with the Constitution. There is no such justification today! Laws continue to be adopted in a rather large number, some people believe -- much too great a number! Many relations in society are standardized, and for this reason the control function on implementing the laws should be expressed much more in the assemblies.

KOSOVO OFFICIAL LINKED TO 'ILLEGAL' DEALINGS

AU032129 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 83 p 2

[The "Social Chronicle" column commentary by Aca Petrovic: "Key to All Locks"]

[Text] On 21 December, a working group of the LCY Central Committee held talks with the communists in leading positions in the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia on fulfilling the role of the service within the system and within the framework of the tasks emanating from the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

However, it was not reported that the meeting was chaired by Djemsit Durici, newly appointed general director of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia and, until recently, governor of the Kosovo National Bank, who also introduced himself to the public at the meeting. Of course, this would be no news if it was not for the fact that Djemsit Durici has been publicly "named" in connection with an illegal distribution of land lots of the Pristina Vojo Jankovic housing settlement, a distribution which also involved favorable credits from the Kosovo Bank. The credits were granted for periods of up to 20 years at an interest rate of 6 percent!

In addition to Durici, the names of a large number of other provincial officials have been also mentioned in connection with the "affair of Pristina land lots" and credits. All this has been "rumored" in Pristina for 2 years and only now the story has spread beyond the local boundaries and the Pristina Communal LC Committee has announced that the political responsibility of the communists mentioned in this connection will be investigated.

The Social Accounting Service which, since a few days ago, has been headed by Djemsit Durici, also has its findings about this case. But Durici (as well as others named in this connection) has not reacted to the publication of his name in this connection nor has the electoral base at least placed his election "on ice" until the case is cleared up.

Thus, anyone can conjecture and think as he wishes and also ask: Why do not the LC and the sociopolitical organizations react more quickly whenever the reputation of communists in high leading positions is questioned and when they should be clean "from head to toe." The 1,800 workers of the Social Accounting Service who are charged with the task of uncovering and struggling against the plunderers of social property and the sellers of reputations, find themselves in a most sensitive situation.

A great deal was said at the aforementioned meeting of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia about the difficulties of the service, pressures "from above..." especially whenever or wherever some "reputable" institutions, services of special social importance, and "reputable" individuals are involved. It is for this reason, too, that it is not easy to be an "unbreakable" inspector and therefore several speakers at the meeting stressed that workers of the Social Accounting Service should possess special moral characteristics, firmness, and persistence in performing their duties in uncovering illegal activities.

The most impressive statement in this connection was made by Momcilo Tomic, deputy general director of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia. He said: "The inspectors of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia must be strong cadres and persistent fighters who will not yield to pressures and threats such as: If you do not do it as you are told, count on being replaced in the next rotation."

However, no one said or asked what hung "in the air." Djemsit Durici calmly and in a routine manner chaired the meeting of the leading officials of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia which, to mention it in passing, was also attended by directors of the republican and provincial social accounting services in addition to the aforementioned party working group. Perhaps no one said or asked that because among other things, noninterference in the affairs of others in general and in "key" cadres, in particular has become an accepted rule.

True, it may come out in the end that Djemsit Durici was not guilty, that the Social Accounting Service has erred, and that everything was done within the limits of legal norms, but a leading position requires a public accountability.

Regarding the conclusions, what is lacking are quick and resolute actions from the side when the grass roots fails to take the initiative and when the publicly named official turns a "deaf ear," that is, quick and resolute actions to name the official involved, to recall him, and to force him to make a statement, provide an explanation, talk things over and -- why not? -- even resign if necessary, and thereby to cut the matter short as early as at the stage of "rumors" rather than move to action only when all sorts of conjectures and comments are made among the public and in all this addition or deductions are made according to yardsticks and keys of their own."

[The above commentary is accompanied by a boxed-in announcement of the Pristina Communal LC Committee Presidium that, at its session on 26 December, the Presidium discussed the problem of the construction of private housing in the Vojo Jankovic housing settlements and of the credits granted in this connection and formed two working groups to investigate in detail "the method of distribution of land lots and credits to determine whether any illegal actions or other irregularities were involved." The working groups will complete their work in the near future and will submit their reports. "The public will be informed in good time about the final appraisals and measures and any prejudicial statements could only be detrimental to real and objective information," the Presidium says in its announcement]

INSTITUTE ISSUES DATA ON FINAL HARVEST RESULTS

AU041814 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Federal Institute for Statistics has reported the final data on this year's harvest of corn, sugar beet, sunflowers, plums, and grapes.

The corn crop was good this year; It reached the total of 10,688,000 metric tons. This is by about 438,000 metric tons less than last year, but one should know that 1982 had the record corn crop. This year's harvest of corn has on the average yielded 4.71 metric tons per hectare (6.75 metric tons on fields in the social sector).

The production of sugar beet has reached 5.65 million metric tons -- the same as last year. Out of the total of 141,000 hectares sown with sugar beet, 110,000 hectares were land belonging to socially owned farms. Private farmers were not too motivated to sow sugar beet.

The situation with sunflowers was similar -- out of 76,000 hectares, private farmers have sown only 23,000 hectares. Plant diseases have seriously reduced the sunflower crop this year too -- the total harvested was 139,000 metric tons, which is 31 percent less than last year.

The plum harvest has reached 987,000 metric tons, and grape harvest 625,000 metric tons. In both cases, the yield is somewhat lower than last year.